UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

A Major Problem in American Government

By EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD

The International Council of Women

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

The Story of My Mind—XV

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCV MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1925 NUMBER 15

"My path is clear. Any attempt to use me for violent purposes is bound to fail. I have no secret methods. I know no diplomacy save that of truth. I have no weapon but non-violence. I may be unconsciously led astray for a while but not for all time. I have therefore well-defined limitations, within which alone I may be used. Attempts have been made before now to use me unlawfully more than once. They have failed each time so far as I am aware." —*Gandhi.*

UNITY cannot boast an enormous circulation. It is no competitor, for example, of the *American Magazine* or the *Saturday Evening Post*. It is not within hailing distance of the *Atlantic Monthly* or even of the *Christian Century*. Nevertheless it has its own goodly body of readers—none more loyal, and few, we venture to say, more widely distributed. It is in this matter of distribution that we would blow our horn. Take the United States, for example! UNITY has subscribers in every one of the forty-eight states, in the District of Columbia, and in all our "foreign possessions" (hateful phrase—and hateful fact!). In some of these states—Arkansas, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Wyoming—we have only one subscriber each. How we wish that we had *two!* But O, how precious is that single subscriber in each case, for without him our record of reaching every state in the Union would be broken. We wonder if these single subscribers have ever realized before how important they are! We know they have open minds and forgiving hearts; we hope that they have sound bodies and patronize good physicians. Our largest number of subscribers in this country is in Illinois—which shows the abiding influence, we are sure, of the Jenkin Lloyd Jones tradition. Then come, in order, New York, Massachusetts, California, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, District of Columbia, Missouri, Iowa, Florida, Indiana, Nebraska, Colorado, Rhode Island, Kansas, New Hampshire, Texas, and Washington. Others, as they say on election night, are "scattering". These figures have some surprises. Thus we are surprised that we should have more subscribers in California than in New Jersey. We are astonished to discover that Florida leads Indiana on our list. It is natural that Wisconsin and Minnesota should be among the leaders, but why should Kansas and Colorado be so far down? It is enormously gratifying to note the standing of the District of Columbia, and to recall the distinguished names that appear among our subscribers at the seat of government. Surely there is no trouble with UNITY so far as distribution is concerned. If there were only *more* subscribers in each place! Why can't we pitch our list as high as we distribute it wide?

But the most gratifying feature of our distribution is still to be recorded. We refer to the foreign countries reached by UNITY every week. These include, as arranged in order on the basis of the number of subscribers in each country, the following: England, India and Canada tied, Germany, China, France and Japan tied, Australia, then Italy, Austria, Bulgaria and Sweden all tied, Holland and Switzerland tied, and Africa. At the bottom, with one subscriber each, are Denmark, Hungary, Indo-China, Russia, Wales and South America. Here is a list of *twenty-one* foreign countries, distributed over all the five continents of the globe, plus Australia. It is natural that England should lead the list, and we are glad that Germany follows so close after. It warms our heart that so many copies of our paper go regularly to India, and that one of these reaches Mahatma Gandhi. We rejoice also that we have friends in China and Japan, and mourn that our only subscriber in Russia is our own correspondent. Mrs. Alina Huebsch. But Russia is poor, and pretty much cut off from intellectual communion with the West. Such a circulation through the world at large is excellent, but we hope it is only the beginning of what some day is to come. For our editorial policy is deliberately international. We are thinking of all men everywhere as we write our editorials and select our articles. Our foreign friends are the dearest members of our family, and we trust that UNITY may ever bring to them assurance of love and fellowship. Behold, the banner at our mast-head.

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN."

Senator Borah has a perfect genius for illuminating present-day enormities with parallels from earlier periods of history. What we are doing today he demonstrates is only a repetition in slightly different guise of what tyrants and oppressors were doing yesterday. Take for example the Senator's characterization of Article X of the League of Nations Covenant in his May 18th speech to the students at Ann Arbor. This Article, he said, "is based on the same despotic principles that beings have held for hundreds of years—

not justice or righteousness, but merely *a guarantee to protect each other's property.*" Six years of world-wide discussion by thousands of men has produced no such vivid and accurate characterization as this! Another example is Senator Borah's comparison of the Department of Justice's treatment of Senator Wheeler with what George III did to the colonists in the days preceding the Revolutionary War. Thus in the Declaration of Independence we find it set down as one of the American grievances against "the present king of Great Britain," that he has given his assent "to pretended legislation . . . *transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences.*" In other words, it was the practise of the English government in those days to trump up charges against inconvenient citizens and public officials, and then call the cases to trial "beyond seas" where the accused persons would be separated from their friends and whither they could assemble their evidence and witnesses only with the greatest difficulty and at the largest expense. This was one of the amiable practises which led to the overthrow of George III's government. And, now, as Senator Borah points out, our own Department of Justice is openly repeating this same offense in indicting Senator Wheeler on a trumped-up charge *in the District of Columbia,* thousands of miles away from the place where are his evidences and witnesses. And aside from a few contumaceous liberals, nobody is getting excited! What we need these days is a few lessons in history, to show what is being put over on us!

The Baccalaureates are here again, and we are beginning to hear the endless talk about college graduates as the leaders of the nation, etc., etc. In view of the undeniable fact that college men do eventually climb to the posts of influence and honor in business and the professions, it may be well to ask just how much a college education is worth these days as training for leadership. Or, to put it the other way around, just how well-fitted are our college men to become leaders of society? A possible answer to these questions is found in a report which has recently come from Yale. In reply to a series of inquiries addressed to the students of the New Haven institution, the following statements were received—

Favorite character in world history: Napoleon, 181; Cleopatra, 7; Jeanne d'Arc, 7; Woodrow Wilson, 7; Socrates, 5; Jesus Christ, 4; Mussolini, 3.

Favorite Prose author: Stevenson, 24; Dumas, 22; Sabatini, 11; Anatole France, 5; Cabell, 5; Bernard Shaw, 4.

Favorite magazine: Saturday Evening Post, 94; *Atlantic Monthly,* 24; *New Republic,* 3; *Times Current History,* 3.

Favorite political party: Republican, 304; Democratic, 84; none, 22; Independent, 3.

Biggest world figure of today: Coolidge, 52; Dawes, 32; Mussolini, 3; Prince of Wales, 24; J. P. Morgan, 15; Einstein, 3; Bernard Shaw, 3.

No sweeping generalizations should be drawn from this one inquiry. Thus, for example, the data applies to *Yale* men and not to college men! Still, this report has its great significance as a sign or symptom. It means something when men who are undoubtedly to be among our most active, distinguished and influential citizens in the next generation, vote overwhelmingly for Napoleon as their favorite historical character, prefer Stevenson, Dumas and Sabatini to Bernard Shaw, read the *Saturday Evening Post* thirty times as often as the *New Republic,* and elect Calvin Coolidge to be the "biggest world figure to-day." If these answers didn't mean the bankruptcy of our higher education, at least at Yale, or else the utter intellectual degeneracy of our college student bodies these days, we don't know what they mean. Our one consoling thought is that the judgments are so obviously infantile, there is still good hope for the little Yale boys when they grow up.

The Unitarian anniversary meetings, impressively planned and triumphantly carried through, were glorified among other things by the unanimous adoption of a resolution of peace which we desire to call very particularly to the attention of our readers. This resolution, written and introduced by our greatly admired pacifist friend, Henry W. Pinkham, reads as follows:

Whereas the happy coincidence of the centennials of the American Unitarian Association and of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association is a reminder that the two English-speaking peoples have been at peace with each other for a century and more; and

Whereas a war between these two peoples would be an immeasurable calamity, a fact so fully realized by both peoples as to make such a war well nigh unthinkable;

We therefore petition President Coolidge to take the initiative in establishing by solemn treaty an agreement on the part of these two peoples, through their respective governments, to settle all their disputes by peaceable means, not excepting disputes involving vital interests or national honor.

This resolution has interest for us not only as a highly creditable gesture of goodwill as between the two great English-speaking nations of the world, but also as a clear and easily practicable step toward the great goal of the Outlawry of War. This outlawry program, as we know, calls for an all-inclusive treaty of mutual agreement between the nations of the earth banning war as a crime and arranging for the settlement of all international disputes whatever by peaceful judicial process. Such a treaty is not going to be consummated all at once. In the interim what can be better than the writing of such treaties as between several states. Each such treaty is like a stretch of pavement, is it not, making smooth the highway to our goal! It is interesting to note that within the past few months, Switzerland has made a compact of this kind with Italy, and another with France. The proposal for such a treaty between the United States and England is itself nothing new. In an addendum to his resolution as originally written Mr. Pinkham points out that a treaty of this character was framed by the American Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox, and the British Ambassador, James Bryce, in the administration of the last Unitarian President, to date, now the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Action of this kind is statesmanship of a high order. What was not done in the administration of Mr. Taft may well be done in the administration of Mr. Coolidge. We hope that the President will heed this petition, thus wisely and nobly presented by the Unitarians, and act accordingly.

It is melancholy to note the attitude of the Christians in India toward Gandhi and his great movement. The Mahatma should stir their highest enthusiasm and hold their deepest loyalty, for no man has ever embodied Christ's spirit more truly than he. But most of the Christians in India, so far as we can judge, are either hostile or indifferent to Gandhi. In reporting a recent visit to Travancore Gandhi says,

> It was a sad sight to see the Christians, from the Bishop downward, using foreign cloth. They are the most educated and progressive community in the state. They owe it to their country to use their high education and intelligence for its service. The best service they can render is to adopt spinning and *Khaddar*, and lead the way for the other communities.

Referring to the drink evil,

> "the one thing most deplorable next to 'untouchability'," Gandhi states, "I was told that drink was most prevalent among Christians, and that it was destroying hundreds of homes and bringing poverty and disgrace among thousands of men."

Most of the missionaries in India, with the notable exception of such men as C. F. Andrews and Bishop Fisher, are either not interested in Gandhi or are more or less openly opposed to him. The reasons for this attitude are perhaps not hard to find. At bottom, of course, is the relation of Christianity to English rule. Behind the Christian missionary and his converts stands the English soldier, and Gandhi's campaign for *Swaraj* is, therefore, interpreted as a movement hostile not only to England but to the Christian church. Then, too, it seems impossible for the Christians to understand why a man so closely akin to Jesus in spirit, idealism and mode of life as the Mahatma, is not himself a Christian. They cannot see that Gandhi's very loyalty to Jesus makes impossible his acceptance of the church which has betrayed the Nazarene by its alliance with government and its repudiation, therefore, of the gospel of non-resistance. Meanwhile, Gandhi includes within the embrace of his affection Christians as well as all other peoples of the world. Himself a Hindu, he proclaims himself "a servant of Musalmans, Christians, Parsis and Jews, as also of Hindus."

We never look upon a death like that of Miss Amy Lowell last month without thinking how blessed it is thus to pass away. Like Phillips Brooks over a generation ago, this distinguished Bostonian ended her days in the fullness of her strength, achievement and reputation, thus avoiding the pain of physical decline, of waning powers, of obscure old age, of the humiliation of outliving one's own world. Now and then there comes a man, like Robert Collyer, to whom old age gives an especial beauty, or like Charles William Eliot, to whom long life adds a final lustre of glory and renown. But for the great majority of earth's children it is indeed a boon to pass as one mounts the crest of the hill, and thus escape the long slope into the darkening west. Amy Lowell is a happy example. She had lived with gusto and undimmed happiness into her fifth decade. She had written and published probably the best poetry that was in her. She had completed, in her definitive biography of John Keats, her masterpiece, by which undoubtedly she is destined to be longest remembered. She had won and held triumphantly a position in the world of American letters which already other and younger aspirants were seeking to enter. And then with scarcely the warning of a day, she came to her end. Few men or women of our time were happier in their lives than she—none happier in their death. So would we go! As John Neihardt has put it—

> Let me live out my years in heat of blood!
> Let me die drunken with the dreamer's wine!
> Let me not see this soul-house built of mud
> Go toppling to the dust—a vacant shrine!
>
> Let me go quickly like a candle light
> Snuffed out just at the heydey of its glow!
> Give me high noon—and let it then be night!
> Thus would I go.
>
> And grant me, when I face this grisly Thing,
> One haughty cry to pierce the gray Perhaps!
> Let me be as a tune-swept fiddlestring
> That feels the Master Melody—and snaps!

Jottings

A snake has been found in Ireland. This gives reason for believing, in spite of all, that a work for peace may yet be found in the diplomacy of Europe!

The Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, in session last month at Houston, Texas, passed a resolution declaring that

> War is the foe of trade, the destroyer of property created by labor, and is the common enemy of mankind. Therefore it should be outlawed.

The convention also petitioned President Coolidge to place the outlawry of war in the forefront of any world conference he may call to consider disarmament or any other question relating to world peace.

Thus does a great cause go marching on!

Why have a Labor Party? The Tories in England have introduced into Parliament the most radical and far-reaching national pension system ever known, and have received the report of a royal commission advocating national control of food prices. This is more than MacDonald's ministry ever thought about, much less attempted. Again we ask. Why bother with a Labor Party?

Speaking of the English Tories, can anybody imagine either the Republican or Democratic Parties in this country doing even a tenth part of what is now being done by the Baldwin Government? If so, let him be immediately put in a strait-jacket, for he is plainly a desperate lunatic.

Dr. Cornelius Woelfkin, retiring from the ministry of the Park Avenue Baptist Church in New York, decries denominationalism, and sees the time when all churches will merge their activities in the common service of mankind. Thus one by one do enlightened spirits forecast the passing of the whole existing order of Protestant Christianity.

Rebellions at Fisk and Howard Universities show that Negroes as well as whites are feeling the new spirit of youth. They also show that Negro young men and women of independence, courage and high self-respect are on the way to leadership of their race.

J. H. H.

American Notes

(Editorial Correspondence.)

I am writing on International Good Will Day, which is being celebrated in churches and schools quite generally throughout the land. It was first proposed by an international convention of educators, held in San Francisco, several years ago, after which it was taken up by churches and clubs. America is really in earnest in the desire to get better acquainted with her neighbors and be on good terms,—although many signs point in the other direction. Thousands of sermons will be preached today, seeking to emphasize the importance of international friendship. Many Americans are realizing that America has been rather provincial in her outlook,—from the necessity of her situation. The powerful agency of the schools can be counted upon, I think, in the future to spread fellowship through the children. Mechanical inventions that connect the people with their neighbors over the seas are very popular and are multiplying fast. . . . The average American at this moment would hold the following things as essential to international friendship: acknowledgment of the naked truth about the late war; the channels of information (press, etc.) must be open and honest; recognition that the chief causes of war are economic; recognition that as much money should be spent in cultivating friendship as in making war; recognition that in order that a nation "win a place in the sun" there are better weapons than the "sword". . . . The average American—if you were to ask him to mention several specific steps to be taken toward international friendship—would say that China should be given a square deal, to the point of having foreign concessions and extra-territoriality privileges removed with the withdrawal of all foreign military forces, giving China the chance to "right" herself. He would, I think, condemn the Hawaiian-Australian maneuvers of the U. S. navy and likewise the building of the Singapore base. . . . He would approve of the action of the California Legislature in endorsing by unanimous vote David Starr Jordan's Plan of World Peace.

Speaking of international matters reminds me that I recently met several people from Australasia. I am persuaded that my readers will be interested in some of the impressions these visitors gathered of American life. Dr. Orr is pastor of the leading Presbyterian church of Wellington, New Zealand. He is exchanging with an American Presbyterian pastor, which strikes me as a good idea. Everyone concerned is likely to be benefitted by such an exchange. It is certain to lead to international illumination. . . . Dr. Orr impressed me as a good representative of New Zealand, born there and enthusiastic over his "charmed land." When he told us that in the U. S. A. 86 babies, during the first year, out of 1000 die, but in N. Z. only 24,—it caused us to realize that the hotel clerk who first greeted Dr. Orr made a slight mistake, when he remarked, "You come from New Zealand? How do you like getting back into civilization?"

When he pictured N. Z. as never having had a train robbery, only one serious railway accident, no drought, no tornadoes, no wild beasts nor poisonous reptiles (thus beating Eden) and the "best climate in the world,"—his listeners looked as if they would have to read up some. But Dr. Orr showed that he was familiar with Mark Twain by recalling Twain's remark in reference to the N. Z. railways that the next time he came to N. Z. he would ride on a glacier. . . . Dr. Orr commented favorably on what he saw of the enterprise of the people, pushing railways out into regions without population, with the expectation that the people would follow. He thought that possibly the government in N. Z. did too much for the people, not leaving enough for private enterprise.

The other visitors from N. Z. were two school teachers who are spending their vacations in surveying the schools of Canada and the United States. They impressed me as being keen observers, and here are some of the things that they frankly said. The first remark startled their listeners, for said they, American children impress us "as being untidy." They thought them to be "over-dressed." Some of their listeners "explained" this impression by the fact that the children in the schools of N. Z. wear uniforms while in America the children dress according to their individual tastes. . . . These teachers were disturbed by the great variety of ways they found English words spelled, especially on sign-boards. . . . They were astonished at the conspicuous way men and women had their "barbering" done, behind huge plate windows in full view of passers-by. They could not "understand why anyone would choose to have his hair cut and face shaved with such luxurious publicity." Neither, why men in hotels enjoyed getting in great cushion-seats and arraying themselves behind plate-windows, as though on exhibition. And there was "so little privacy for the home life." No fences, window-shades all up so that the passer-by could see everything going on inside, no closed gardens. They were however impressed by the fine equipment found in the schools, along with general interest taken in the schools by the parents. They were impressed by the courtesy of everyone. . . . One thing

they did not like on the steamer coming to America: it was the sight of a group of Maori girls being brought by a Mormon elder from New Zealand to Honolulu to be presented in the "Temple" at Honolulu. They said, they would have liked "to have thrown the little Mormon elder over into the water." Others expressed sympathy with their feeling. But in a full picture of America, the Mormon can not be left out.

One of the most important organizations looking toward racial unity is the Southern Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation. It recently had its annual meeting, which was attended by sixty delegates, from every Southern state, except Arkansas. This Commission, together with such conferences as the one recently held in Cincinnati, the National Inter-racial Conference, under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches for North America, is actually making an impression for better understanding among the races of the land. Many Americans are realizing that right within their own borders is a field for solving some of the problems of humanity, and they are bending to the task with real sincerity and enthusiasm. . . . The Southern Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation had several things to note marking progress. (It is well to notice that this commission is "Southern"—that part of the country where Slavery obtained for several generations—and the conference composed of whites and blacks.) It was noted, for example, that lynching had rapidly decreased during the past three years, ascribed largely to the mobilization of Southern women, to condemnation voiced by the press and to anti-lynching legislation in several of the states. The Commission voted to push a crusade against lynching by creating a public sentiment that would make it impossible. . . . It was reported also that sixty colleges for white students in the South were giving courses in race relations and inter-racial forums, many of them, are being conducted. . . . Increased attention also, it was noted, is being given to the housing of Negro residents, also by the press to the matter of giving the reader a fairer view of the Negro than has been customary,—more than 450 papers in the country being users of the service prepared by the Commission. . . . Many instances were related showing an improvement in local inter-racial situations, involving school facilities for Negroes, as well as economic disturbances. . . . Steps were taken looking toward the creation of a foundation which would provide for an annual prize to that person making the most important contribution in the realm of race relations.

This meeting of the Commission in Atlanta, last month, has been characterized as "The South begins to turn the Corner of Racial Understanding." Carroll Bender, an intelligent observer, who was at the meeting, says that there has been "advance in every state." He says, "every state was able to report better schoolhouses, parks, nurseries, playgrounds for the Negro citizens." He writes of the "Rosenwald schools" which have been secured in many communities throughout the South with the aid of the local inter-racial commission. (There are now 2617 of these modern schools instituted by this Chicago philanthropist, many of them in the "black belt" where lynchings have occurred in recent years with regularity.) He mentions many instances of gifts by white Southerners to Negro schools, colleges and hospitals. . . . Even justice in the courts is beginning to recognize the black man. He describes the "city" press as being most helpful in the solution of race problems, but the "rural" editors as being still "fire-eaters" and "die-hards." Deeds of heroism and works of construction on the part of Negroes now get into the urban press. It was noteworthy, he says, that Christian men and women predominated at the meeting of the Commission, but as one of them said, "The sad part of this great movement is that the leadership is not assumed by the church and state." Only two Augusta white clergymen were in favor of meeting with Augusta Negro clergymen. . . . In general, the clergymen were among the last to join in the inter-racial work, it was declared by one young white Southerner. The son of General Robert E. Lee's chaplain asked indulgence for his brethren, for, said he, "We are so concerned with salvation of the individual here in the South that most of us never get round to thinking socially."

However, this Commission is made up of prominent sociologists, teachers, business men, attorneys, railway executives, editors and the like. Of course, the Quakers were on hand,—two of them coming from as far away as South Africa, as well as a Presbyterian missionary from Africa, who came to see how the South was handling its race problem. Other residents of Africa have for some time being studying the work of the Commission, and profiting by its experiences. Mr. Bender thinks that the outstanding characteristic of this movement, as expressed by a club-woman, is that "it is whites and Negroes working together for a better South and a better land—not whites working for Negroes, as has been the case in other movements."

SYDNEY STRONG.

A Major Problem in American Government

I like to think of the church as composed of a group of individuals who are searching after, feeling for, hesitantly perhaps, and with timidity; and oft, I fear, with the simplicity of

> An infant crying in the night;
> An infant crying for the light;
> With no language but a cry,

yet, nevertheless, groping toward, in the beauty of uncertainty and mystic bewilderment, that good life the co-operative quest for which will, when realized, reveal the path to those values of which Shelley dreamed when his befogged poetic soul sought to be

> Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free.

Yet I suppose Professor Aubrey of Miami University would want me to add that the church has also a missionary or propagandistic duty to perform—that of giving publicity to such doctrines as it has pragmatically proved to be of true worth to mankind, or as he so ably expresses it:

> Religion is also organized activity—the organization of behavior with reference to . . . . (its) projected ideal.

But if we may dare believe that the church is primarily engaged in this quest for the good life, then it follows, does it not? that its door must ever remain open to the specialist; for it is only through obtaining the latest authoritative facts from all the known fields of knowledge that the church, through its synthesizing program, can, from the data thus obtained, arrive at an adequate philosophy, a philosophy capable of giving the good life. This statement of the function of the church being ten-

able, my contribution through this article becomes that delightful one of sharing with my readers (fellow churchmen) a few of those findings which a careful, specialized study in the field of political science has revealed to me; realizing in doing so that I have, in the material selected for presentation, data which will be of value to us in our common Christian quest.

The problem to which I invite your attention is that referred to by one of our most eminent political scientists when he recently said, while addressing a small group interested in the problems of government, that the high-strung, nervous, modern American business man is fast losing patience with the slow, blundering operations of large unwieldy legislatures; that democracy is passe, and that in its stead we are going to see develop, within the next thirty years, a type of quick-acting executive control or dictatorship. Or again, you find the problem to which I refer effectively stated in the following quotation from Irving Babbitt's late work on "Democracy and Leadership."

> The time may come, with the growth of a false liberalism, when a predominant element in our population, having grown more and more impatient of the ballot box and representative government, of constitutional limitations and judicial control, will display a growing eagerness for "direct action." This is the propitious moment for the imperialistic leader.

Stated in more scientific terms, the problem referred to by both of these men, and to which I invite attention, is that one which in American history dates back to the days of Jefferson and Jackson—the conflict between neo-aristocracy and social democracy. We are today still fighting the old political battle which was begun during the period of our western expansion, and that with greater enmity than ever. It is still the manufacturing, shipping, urban East against the agricultural, grazing, rural West; it is still the creditor versus the debtor; it is still a police government championing a doctrine of semi-*laissez faire* as over against a government interesting itself in the welfare of the average citizen, and not hesitating to enter the field of social legislation and industrial supervision, for it is from these economic conflicts that there have arisen the diverging political theories of these two schools of thought—the neo-aristocrats and the social democrats. By neo-aristocracy I mean, not Adam's class of the "wealthy and well born," but rather the wealthy plus the well educated—a class that distrusts democracy and champions a government in the interest of the nation, and by the best minds—this, as over against the social democrats whose interest, in the main, is the individual welfare of the average citizen; and who feel that in order to protect the average citizen from being preyed upon by the neo-aristocrats, democracy must be socialized to the extent of enabling government (the policies of which are controlled by the majority) to regulate and in certain cases take over the operation of the big public utilities.

Let me hasten to add, however, that the division between these two schools—the neo-aristocrats and the social democrats—cannot, at present, be as sharply drawn, either from the standpoint of parties or geographic distribution of population, as it was during Jackson's reign. A large following from each school is to be found both in the East and in the West. Further, we find that between the social democrats of the East and the West there is no small degree of conflict in that those of the East belong to the proletarian class—are a product of the big specialized industries; while those of the West still talk in terms of land and agriculture; still preserve the bourgeois psychology of a common pioneer people, seeking democracy economically as well as politically.

It is because that in party alignments the differences between these two schools of political thought are not clearly drawn that Dr. McLaughlin, in viewing the present operations of our two-party system, is correct in saying that these parties represent no fundamental differences in policies maintained. The Republican and Democratic parties are, in the opinion of Dr. McLaughlin, like two advancing armies, each intent upon winning its objective, which objective is to gain control of the government. That army which can bring the largest number of recruits to its banner or platform will win. For this reason we have the spectacle of each of the old line parties making overtures to every embryonic third-party group that gains a following among the independent or marginal voters, the minute that the leaders of those old line parties become convinced that such overtures will bring to their standards more new voters than they will alienate old. Thus it is that our smoothly working bi-party system leaves no opportunity for the development of a multi-party type of government such as that of France and of Germany, the one having fifteen parties and the other ten. And while I do not maintain, as does The National Civic Federation, that the group system has played havoc in Europe, I am not anxious to have this system introduced in America. I do feel, however, that our electorate would be far more responsive to such problems as this of neo-aristocracy versus social democracy if the values of each could be clearly presented as party issues. As it is, few people sense the significance of such statements as those referred to, or the one made by Glenn Frank, editor of The Century, when he told the National League of Women Voters at their recent Richmond meeting, that in the opinion of many political scientists, civilization will decay and pass, and that because of the jealousy and tyranny of the majority in a democratic form of government—a majority which, since the beginning of time has had to be prodded into progress by a minority; or when William E. Dodd, speaking at Rockford College, said:

> Democracy with its mistaken majorities, not autocracy, diplomats and intriguers has wrecked the peace of the world . .

Even Harry Emerson Fosdick frankly declares "that in any realm where judgment calls for spiritual and intellectual fineness, only the minority who are above the average are ever right."

What are the proofs upon which such statements as these are based, statements indicative of the fact that America is turning away from democracy and is leaning toward a neo-aristocracy, and that with the consent and even the aid of some of her leading citizens? You will find many of these proofs in the rapid decay of the legislative branches of our government. In the days before Jackson our legislative bodies were nearly as powerful as the English Parliament (of which parliament it has been said that it can do anything except make a woman out of a man). Little by little we have shorn our legislative bodies of their powers until today they are all but impotent. We have reduced the former annual sessions to biennial, and in most of the states we have placed a limitation ranging from thirty to ninety days on even these biennial sessions; we have placed the veto power in the hands of our governors; we have empowered the courts to pass on the constitutionality of all laws enacted by the legislatures; we have

imposed constitutional restrictions upon all appropriation bills; and we have (although many of us did so thinking that we were thereby championing the cause of democracy) introduced the initiative and the referendum. Such restrictions as these show very clearly the low repute in which our legislative bodies, both national and state, are held. Let a speaker make a "wise crack" about Congress and he can provoke a laugh from any audience. A local journal recently headed an editorial with "Thank God the Legislature has Adjourned." A certain governor tells his friends that the happiest days of his life are those in which he can see the coat-tails of the legislators disappear around the corner, not to reappear for two years. Note how violently Senator LaFollette's advocacy designed to enable congress to enact a law declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court was opposed by the press. Yet the intelligent voters of America must realize that the legislature is the most democratic branch of this theoretically balanced, tri-power form of government which we possess, and for which we have to thank (or curse) the Frenchman, Montesquieu, who, it is well to remember, was unable to sell his political wares either to his own countrymen or to the politically sophisticated English. The framers of our constitution, presumably more interested in codfish, tobacco, and puritanic religion, than in the technicalities of governmental organization, accepted the check and balance theories of the French writer, hoping thereby to prevent a return to a monarchy, but with the result that today we find these three branches of our government—legislative, executive and judicial—about as anxious to divide equally their allotted powers as children are to divide equally a box of chocolates. Prior to Jackson the legislative branch, theories to the contrary notwithstanding, retained the power. Since that date there has been a conflict between the executive and the judicial branches for this privilege. And both have gained to the all but total exclusion of the legislative. For one having in mind the veto power which the courts have gained, the extent to which they have enlarged their activities under the fourteenth amendment, and the new fields of conquest which they opened through a broad application of the writ of injunction—for one having these judicial victories in mind, the comment by Burgess regarding the government of the United States being that of the "aristocracy of the robe" is not without its significance. But it is in the executive, not the judicial branch of our government that the immediate dangers of aristocracy lurk.

True, our mayors, governors and presidents are not selected from an aristocratic caste—they are elected by the people, and from the people, the same as our legislators; but they are not and cannot become representatives of the people in the same democratic sense in which a legislative body is democratic. We have not, in America, an aristocracy in the English sense of the term. What we do have is a big business moneyed class, augmented by an intellectual class. These politically belong to the school of John Adams and Hamilton, in that they distrust the masses and believe in a strong central government. Yet that central government must exist only for the purpose of protection—to maintain law and order so that an industrial and commercial civilization under the protection of a slightly modified doctrine of *laissez faire* may grow and prosper. Aristotle in his "Politics" favors, as a form of government, what he terms a "Polity," his polity being a mean between oligarchy and democracy. The neo-aristocracy to which I refer is a mean between an oligarchy and an intellectual aristocracy—not Adam's "wealthy and well born," but the wealthy plus the well educated. Franklin D. Roosevelt speaks of the Republican party as composed of those who seek "a mere moneyed prosperity of the nation through the control of government by a self-appointed aristocracy of wealth and of social and economic power." This is the group to which I refer when I use the term "neo-aristocrats." I think it unjust, however, to imply that their interest in America is only economic. Many of the neo-aristocrats covet for our nation a cultural, artistic, and literary standard that would rival Europe. And, as I have pointed out above, we cannot speak of them as being confined in their affiliations to any one political party.

I refuse to speak in condemnatory phrases of this group. Their position is logical and they are perfectly justified in most of the views which they hold regarding the incompetence of ignorant masses to govern themselves in an efficient and intelligent fashion. They have a just cause for questioning the judgments of a people of 114,000,000 of whom twenty-five millions read the Hearst publications. I agree with Professor Babbitt (an ardent supporter of neo-aristocracy) when he says that "it is hard to take a glance at one of our newsstands without reflecting that, though we may not be fools, we are reading just the things that fools would read." The contempt for majority rule as expressed in G. M. Bonner's statement, when he defines democracy as the "rule of a country—that is to say, the active undertaking of administration of foreign affairs and all cares of state—by the demos, the less educated majority" expresses clearly, I think, the attitude which those of this school take toward democracy; while many of them, I doubt not, sympathize with Goethe in his statement:

> There is nothing more odious than the majority; for it consists of a few powerful leaders, a certain number of accommodating scoundrels and subservient weaklings, and a mass of men who trudge after them without in the least knowing their own minds.

Yes, I have complete sympathy for these neo-aristocrats in their effort to escape the lowering standards which democracy in an uneducated nation inevitably brings; but I want to say, and with the dogmatism of one who has given this problem careful study, that the worthy ends which many of these neo-aristocrats desire can never be obtained through investing vast powers in the hands of our executives, while, at the same time, permitting these executives to be elected by unrestricted popular ballot. And is not my argument valid?

If we strip our legislators of their powers on the grounds that they are inferior, ignorant and dishonest men, then what have we gained by placing these powers in the hands of another group, when this second group is also a product of mass inferiority; is also elected by the demos, hence from the demos? In fact we have lost. To use a homely saying, we have "jumped from the frying pan into the fire," for this other group—the executive group—is pregnant with the potentialities of dictatorship. And how could it be otherwise when our elective processes for each group are similar? The same mill is doing the grinding for each, consequently if the corn in the legislative bag is coarse and unpalatable, the corn in the executive bag must also be equally coarse and unpalatable. That man who has proved himself undesirable as a legislator will still be undesirable even if we do separate him from the pack, and dignify him

with the title of mayor, governor or president. The fact which I wish to emphasize is that the neo-aristocrats have not and cannot eliminate corruption and incompetence in government by the simple process of placing powers which were formally held by the legislators into the hands of the executives. Their argument about being able, when this shift is made, to place responsibility, and to hold the few possessors of these powers to strict accountability, is fallacious as any resident of a large city who has tried to dislodge one of these firmly entrenched, spoils distributing, machine supported dictators can testify. So long as executives are elected by the same voters as elect the legislators, and through the use of similar methods, both executives and legislators will be of about equal standard in honesty and competence. The way to raise this standard is by creating, through restrictions perhaps, but primarily through education, a more discriminating electorate. Until this is done, powerful executives are a menace to democracy; and when it is done, there will remain no cause for complaint about the evils of legislatures, for such bodies will be composed of men noble in character and wise in judgment.

Again, is it not illogical to expect, even if it were possible under the theories of the neo-aristocrats, to always elect honest and capable, mayors, governors and presidents, is it not illogical to expect that one man can more effectively interpret the desires of the majority of the citizens of a city, state or nation, than can a large representative body, each member of which is representative of a limited constitutency? And right here I want to take exception to that conception so widespread, that the functions of a legislative body are merely that of making ordinances and laws. If they were, we might advantageously welcome its decline, for of laws and ordinances we have enough to spare. It would be well, incidentally, if every member of every legislative body asked himself before voting on a bill, those two pertinent questions of John Stuart Mill: (a) Does it (the proposed law) relieve a "perceptible injury to an assignable person?" (b) Does it promote "the greatest good of the greatest number?" But duties of such bodies include also that vitally important one of formulating policies; and it is the duty of the executives, be they mayors, governors, or presidents, to carry out the policies thus formulated. The duty of the President of the United States, for example, is not to formulate political doctrines, nor to accept doctrines as formulated by his party's platform, but rather to carry out the policies given to him by Congress. If the party wants to control the President which it put into office, it should do so by electing to Congress a majority in each House. That presidents, governors and mayors should (and many have and do) take upon themselves the responsibility of formulating the political doctrines of their respective constituents is only another example of the extent to which representative government in America has declined—another illustration of the rise of neo-aristocracy with its great executives (embryonic dictators), and their controlled votes. My insistence upon this point—that the formulation of political policies is a function of the legislative, not the executive branch of government, is due not to conservatism, not to a love for the methods of the fathers; it is due to a realization that the foundation of our Republic rests upon representative government; and to a conviction, based upon careful study, that America is a nation, a governmental unit, a sovereign people—a people sufficiently homogeneous to carry on co-operatively, in the interest of the majority, the shaping of their own destinies. This I believe, this as over against the conception of our country as a vast battlefield on which great executive heroes in the interest of economic, racial, social and political issues, rally their blind followers and engage in a life or death struggle. Our nation is (to quote from Edmund Burke)

> a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living but between those who are dead and those who are to be born.

We of America do not disagree with the British in their opinion that democracy will not be the final phase, the last step in political evolution, even if Dean Inge does believe that we do; but I think I speak for the majority in America when I say that we believe that democratic rule through parliamentary representation is the best form of government thus far discovered; that it is superior to an aristocracy and far superior to a dictatorship. If I am, in these words, voicing the belief of the majority of this nation, then it behooves that majority to take cognizance of this rising tide of executivism, for the present tendency in America is toward an enlargement and amplification of executive power, and away from those parliamentary or legislative practices upon which representative democracy must be based.

In conclusion I want to suggest one practical step which we, as churchmen, can take to stem this tide of governmental retrogression—this decline in power of our legislative bodies. It may sound hackneyed and trite to say that our legislators have failed (and through failing permitted the rise of executivism) because they were not men strong in character; were not men who exemplified the Christian virtues, but the statement is true. Elemental and naive as it may seem, the foundation of good government rests upon that Christian philosophy of the good life the quest for which, I for one, believe is the primary task of the church. And in as much as the good life cannot be obtained apart from good government, then why should not the members of the 150,000 churches of America, in executing their individual rights of suffrage, so vote as to give us good government, thereby helping to make the good life obtainable? The answer is simple. They have no one to lead them in these matters concerning Christian government. In an effort to supply this leadership, I propose, if the response of the church groups which I am to address during the next months upon some of these major problems in American government—if their response is sufficient to justify the experiment, I propose to organize a Christian Government League, membership in which will be limited to those having membership in our churches (including all sects and denominations), and the function of which will be to provide for these members of America's 150,000 churches, lectures and printed matter (non-partisan in character) that will point out ways in which the ballot box can be used as an agency for helping us in our common quest for the good life.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

The International Council of Women

The able representatives of organized women in forty countries from Iceland to South Africa, Chile and China have been with us a fortnight and are now departing. They represented national Councils, each one composed of a great variety of national organizations, numbering all told over 30,000,000 women. One wonders what impressions they are going to take home and whether their reserve and good manners have let us realize how surprised they have been at the ebullitions of temper and display of gross ignorance on the part of some of our country women. The first outburst of ill-will to foreign guests came last year in connection with the great meeting and tour of representatives of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom. This was continued when the great national convention on the Cause and Cure of War under the chairmanship of Mrs. Catt brought together last winter representatives of nine national organizations numbering in all 5,000,000 in their membership. Then the Daughters of the American Revolution broke their written contract to allow Continental Hall to be used by the International Council of Women; petitioners went to a congressional committee to prevent the vote passed by the Senate for a little appropriation to be carried through for the International Council, as when the Quinquennial has met in other lands government recognition has been customary, not only in courtesies, but in substantial aid. From the time of the arrival of the foreign guests, the papers, which, as the editor of a Washington paper told me, are "strong for the societies," have been publishing conspicuously every misconceived and ill-natured thing that has been said by all "patriots" who are suspicious of the international mind. The last imbecility reported in the press is the petition turned down by the Labor department and presented by the "Bureau of American Ideals," whatever that may be, for the "deportation of Lady Aberdeen as an undesirable alien!" Does any one imagine that this gracious lady who has given conspicuous attention to health is undesirable because of her efforts to free Ireland from tuberculosis? Is it her interest in the Council's departments of Child Welfare, or Education? We all know that insults and lies have been concentrated on the work for peace and for world organization for which the Council has stood. As nearly all the constituent members are from countries in the League of Nations and their resolutions were proposed a year ago, they naturally carried them through, though our delegation did not vote on certain questions. It is needless to state that there was not the slightest attempt at propaganda as an attempt to change America's policy. A large part of our delegation as individuals stood for the League, but refrained from voting as the American Council has taken no stand on that matter. The opportunity to hear from so many able women who could teach us about world affairs, each from her own point of view, was one which should have been utilized by the public more than it was. The meeting presided over by Mrs. Pennypacker in the Pan-American hall, the Pageant with lovely dances, the tea at the White House, the welcoming address by Secretary Hoover, the solemn ceremonial on Sunday which 6,000 attended at Arlington, arranged by the War Mothers, and the magnificent final banquet and clever speeches at the Mayflower were events long to be remembered with satisfaction on the part of both hostesses and guests. They punctuated with pleasures the days of steady routine of committee meetings and sessions. Only one who has attended international meetings in which every word must be translated into two other languages can appreciate why progress has to be so slow.

Perhaps the most important feature was not the reports and resolutions, and the exhibits of posters and literature, but the little incidental chats which threw light on personalities and experiences. Our bright-witted Chinese delegate who represented the latest country added to the list; the lady from Iceland who appeared at the banquet in high headdress and native costume rich with embroidery; the Princess Radziwill as an unofficial observer from the commission on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations; the German delegates, one of them a member of the reichstag, the handsome woman who was a senator from Poland, the Swiss young lady, a fraternal delegate who represented Le Secour des Enfants, these with many scores of others all merit individual comment. Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and Mrs. Louis F. Post sat on the platform as fraternal delegates from the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom at Geneva, though the national section has withdrawn from the national Council.

I confess one of the incidents which I think will linger long in my mind was one confided to me by a Dutch friend, one of the ten delegates and ten alternates which that one country sent. "I used to think," she said, "that there were more Americans like Mrs. Catt and Jane Addams, but now I find they are as rare here as such women are with us." Then with a whimsical smile she related her encounter in the hotel with a well-to-do woman who noticed her badge giving her country, "The Netherlands." "Ah," said she, "I don't think I know that country." "Perhaps," was the reply, "you are accustomed to call it Holland." "Oh, certainly," said the American. "Why, I have travelled all over your country. It's a beautiful country. I have been to Cologne. Cologne is the capital, isn't it?"

These recent days have done much to help our foreign friends to understand how isolated and narrow-minded a considerable body in our favored land is and how out of touch with the great movements of progress and how many are hostile to the peace movement. A periodical published by the Military Order of the World War which devotes a page to reflections on the International Council contains a statement by Gen. Charles P. Summerall, commanding at Governor's Island, which shows the type of doctrine that Christian lads sent to R. O. T. C. camps are likely to hear and which is one of a hundred indications that there is an active anti-peace propaganda, as well as an anti-pacifist propaganda, which is poisoning the minds of America as Bernhardi's did that of Germany and which infests our societies.

Says Gen. Summerall:

> The cost of that terrible struggle has been more than $20,000,000,000, but the account shows vastly greater material gain . . . the balance of trade which has amounted to many billions as a result of the war. Today our territory has an estimated value of more than $320,000,000,000 and every part of it has been possessed through war or the power to make war. [How much did we fight to get Florida? The Louisiana Territory? Alaska?] If material returns alone are considered, *war has been the most profitable activity in which the country has ever engaged.* (Italics mine.)

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

The Story of My Mind

XV

One of the first questions which demanded attention after the close of the war and the reconstruction period was that of the problem of sound money for the nation. During the war a paper money had been issued, and there was now a demand that it should be continued, in order that money might be plentiful. How to resume specie payments of the war debts, which would necessarily include all other debts, was much discussed. There was a division of opinion between the continued use of paper money and a return to a gold basis, and this problem was greatly debated. The saying of John Sherman at this period became famous, "The way to resume is to resume." Not all voters and politicians were of the opinion of the treasurer of the United States, and they wished that a cheap money should be continued and increased. To meet this demand more paper money was issued, and there was a vigorous discussion of the wisdom of this action. A Greenback party was formed in 1873, which asserted that the banks were controlling the national government. This party demanded that all money should be issued directly by the national government, that an unlimited coinage of both gold and silver should be assumed, and that legal-tender currency should be substituted for banknotes. It was opposed to railroad monopolies, to money corporations, and to the use of government for the advantage of the money holders. It was also opposed to convict and child labor, to the brutalizing of the working class, and to the introduction of Chinese laborers. It demanded just taxation, and the government of the people by the people, not by bond-holders.

In the congressional elections of 1878 this party secured a million votes, but it rapidly fell away, and in 1884 disappeared with Benjamin F. Butler as its candidate for the presidency. The resumption of specie payments in 1879 did much to bring this agitation to an end, the reorganization of the banking system, and its intimate connection with the national government, made it impossible that it should be continued indefinitely. A very large number of persons, however, had thought that a paper currency, making money plentiful and cheap, was a greatly needed and highly important reform.

During this debate as to money my preference was on the side of those who advocated a gold basis. I had read Jevons's book on "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," and the arguments there set forth for a gold basis seemed to me convincing. In my Grand Haven congregation was the cashier of the bank of that little city, and from him I imbibed information confirmatory of that conclusion. The one wealthy man in my congregation was strongly favorable to the greenback theory. He was my chief financial supporter, and in every way a man of honesty and character. I felt so strongly on the subject, however, that I preached a sermon on honesty in business, in which I tried to show that a dishonest money was not favorable to the people's welfare. My millionaire member made no complaint, and others highly praised my sermon, which was not partisan, but an ethical view of the situation. I gave much attention to the money problem, read all the works on the subject I could secure, and did my best to understand it. I went out into one of the little villages of the county and spoke one evening to a rough company of farmers and woodsmen on the subject. I had no great gift for making my ideas effective, and did not clearly understand the problems involved, with the consequence that my statement fell on dull ears. A year or two after, one of the local newspapers heard of this incident, and printed the story with vigorous criticism of the right of a preacher to meddle in politics. The result was that I won the disfavor of the Democrats, and did not gain the confidence of the Republicans.

The next problem which came forward for solution was that of transportation and the influence of the railroads on politics. In Wisconsin and other western states the railroad problem became one of urgent consideration about 1870. The national government had subsidized most if not all the roads beyond the Mississippi, and had given them vast tracts of land. The states, in their eager desire for the means of reaching the eastern markets, had done all in their power to promote railroad building. Many roads were chartered by the states, which secured grants from towns and from individual farmers, who gave mortgages insuring their payment of large sums in aid of the roads. A beginning was made towards construction, and the road was then abandoned. Many a road of this kind have I seen in the states about the great lakes, their cuts and embankments being standing memorials of the manner in which towns and individuals had been robbed. The corporations did not fail to collect the sums subscribed, and often with the result that farmers were compelled to sell their farms in order to pay the mortgages placed upon them.

The railroads corrupted legislatures to secure these results, made use of rebates, escaped from the payment of taxes, and used every sort of patronage in the form of passes and other favors, in order to secure what they desired. Eager as the towns and the farmers were for better transportation facilities, there came a time when they rebelled, banded together, and sought to bring about improved conditions. The farmers were greatly excited about these conditions, as well as their inability to secure good markets and favorable opportunities for shipping their products. They made an attack upon middlemen, and maintained that it was largely owing to those who had control of conditions between the producer and the consumer who kept down prices for the first and increased them for the last. This agitation was very active in the years when I was located in Wisconsin, and when I was coming into intimate contact with the farming population of that state. I heard their discussions, their eager criticisms of existing conditions, and their demand for some effective remedy.

Out of this agitation grew the Patrons of Husbandry or Grangers, an organization of farmers designed for the protection of agricultural interests. The society was a secret one, though with nothing of importance withheld from the public. The very fact of passwords and the exclusion of non-members, however, operated to make the society a success where farmer's clubs had been a failure. The organization began in 1867, and it grew rapidly in the succeeding years. The Grange made much of co-operation, demanded the free delivery of mails in rural districts, sought a revision of the Constitution enabling Congress to regulate and control all

corporations and trusts, asked for pure food laws and their enforcement, and aid in the building of public highways on the part of the nation and the states, as well as the parcels post, with telegraph and telephone added to the mail service. For some years the Grangers went into politics, and in some states secured the passage of laws bearing severely on the railroads, making it impossible for them to call upon towns or farmers for funds until the roads were actually in operation, controlling rates, and abolishing free passes, rebates and other means of exploiting the farmers with the aid of dishonest methods of business. Gradually, however, the Grange grew into a purely farmers' organization, and dropped its political activities. It has been of great service to them as a means of awakening an interest in agriculture, and in the promotion of social intercourse among them. My own interest in this organization began almost from the time of its appearance in southern Wisconsin, and I was initiated into its membership. I left Sharon soon after, and did not become an active member. When my membership became known two farmers living in that village withdrew from my religious society and never heard me again. They belonged to an organization with its centre of operations in Chicago, which was opposed to secret societies, and they would tolerate no one who belonged to any such association. This movement against secret societies was strong in the western states at that time, it had a widely circulated weekly paper published in Chicago, and conventions were held from time to time. The comical side of this withdrawal of my hearers was what chiefly appealed to me.

Several other organizations of farmers began at about the same time as the Patrons of Husbandry, which did not withdraw from politics, but had reforms of one kind or another as their chief object. These included the Farmers' Alliance of Texas, formed in 1876; the National Farmers' Alliance, formed in Chicago in 1877; the Agricultural Wheel, which began in Arkansas in 1882, and the Farmers' Laborers' Union of America, organized in St. Louis in 1889. There were other similar organizations, consisting mostly of members of the farming class, of the better class of craftsmen, and of many store-keepers and others in the middle class. These organizations went on for several years agitating for the improvement of the interests of the classes they represented, but without active political organization until May, 1891, when the People's party was brought into existence in a convention held in Cincinnati.

At least two distinctively labor organizations contributed to the formation of the People's party. These were the Union Labor party and the United Labor party. The former, organized in Cincinnati in 1887, contained many of the members of the old Greenback party, and also many farmers of the western states. It advocated the government ownership of telegraphs and railroads, arbitration of labor disputes, abolition of national banks, free coinage of silver, graduated land and income tax, and woman suffrage. The United Labor party was organized in New York in 1886 as the result of the teachings of Henry George. It aimed at the abolition of all restrictive taxes on industries and those on improvements, and concentration of taxation upon land. It also represented the government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, in abolition of child and convict labor, and the lessening of the hours of labor. These were but small movements, and their vote was not beyond a few thousands.

The single tax movement, which grew out of the publication of the "Progress and Poverty" of Henry George[1] in 1879, was the subject of a widely-extended discussion of taxation, and convinced many persons, not only that the methods of taxation needed a thorough revision, but that there is something fundamentally wrong in a civilization which develops a great mass of poverty. George had a remarkable gift for lucid exposition, as well as a capacity for appealing to the humanitarian tendencies of his hearers and readers. In consequence, the single-tax theory gained many advocates among intelligent men, and not only won those who desired a radical change in society, but those of a keen intellectual insight into the causes making for human welfare. Wherever George spoke, whether in this country or in Europe, he was heard with eagerness by great audiences, and his following rapidly increased.

In 1886 George was nominated for mayor of New York and received a very large vote, though he was not elected. In 1887 the United Labor party nominated him for governor, but he polled only a small vote. Evidently, the single-tax theory was not in itself regarded as of sufficient importance to give numbers and strength to a separate political party.

Another movement contributed to the forming of the People's party, which was also the outgrowth of the ideas of an individual of genius and originality. Edward Bellamy published his "Looking Backward" in 1888, and it had a rapid sale, which has reached beyond the half-million mark. The utopian conception of a city highly developed along lines of mechanized management appealed to the public, and immediately won great popularity. There developed at once the movement known as Nationalism, which was so called, according to Bellamy, "because it proceeds by the nationalization of industries, including, as minor applications of the same principle, the municipalization and state control of localized businesses."

The first Nationalist club, organized at Boston in December, 1888, set forth as its chief doctrine that of the brotherhood of humanity. It advocated the abolition of competition, and asserted its purpose to carry forward the trust tendency to a general application. "We merely seek," said the declaration of principles of this club, "to push the principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organized—the organic unity of the whole people. The present industrial system," continued this declaration, "proves itself wrong by the immense wrong it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts." In a statement made by Bellamy he said that when this movement towards nationalism has been perfected it will become "a great partnership for the general business of supporting and enjoying life, in which all the people shall be equal partners. It will be a universal insurance company, guaranteeing all its members against injustice, oppression, sickness, age, accident, and disability of every sort. It will be a mighty trust, holding the total assets of society—moral, intellectual, and natural—not only for the benefit of the present, but in the interests of future generations and for the ultimate weal of the race."

An Anti-Monopoly party was organized in Chicago

[1]The Life of Henry George by his Son, New York, 1900.

in 1884. It advocated a graduated income tax, fostering of agriculture, economical government, interstate commerce law, industrial arbitration, and opposition to all monopolies, including the tariff. It nominated Benjamin F. Butler for the presidency, and its ticket was endorsed by the Greenback party.

All these parties and movements joined in the formation of the People's party, which at first was the name given to the union of the Anti-Monopoly and Greenback parties in 1884, which nominated Butler for president. In 1890 the Farmers' Alliance in Kansas took up the same name, organized a new party, gained control of the lower house of the state legislature, and elected William A. Peffer to the national Senate. In May, 1891, a national convention was held in Cincinnati, with a large number of delegates, mostly from the central west. In July another convention was held in Omaha, and a national People's party, usually known as the Populist party, came into existence. James B. Weaver, who had won the title of General in the Civil War, was nominated for the presidency. He was a lawyer and editor, had been in Congress, and had taken an active part in the Greenback party. In 1902 the People's party gained more than a million votes, and for several years it had a number of members in both houses of Congress.

The next step in the history of the People's party was its union with the Democratic party in 1896, when William Jennings Bryan was nominated for the presidency at Chicago, after he had made a speech which aroused the wildest enthusiasm of the convention. In his speech Bryan advocated the free coinage of silver, he pleaded in behalf of the struggling masses against accumulated wealth, and he advocated those measures which had given significance to the Populist movement. His nomination on a platform which in large degree agreed with that of the People's party made it desirable and inevitable that the two should join in their appeal to the suffrages of the people. This result, however, was not brought about without a struggle.

At the convention of the People's party held in St. Louis a few weeks later, there was a prolonged struggle as to the future action of the party; but at last the nomination of Bryan was accepted, though the party nominated its own candidate for the vice-presidency. Some of those who took part in this convention, including Henry Demarest Lloyd, desired the nomination of Eugene V. Debs for the presidency, but Debs refused to permit the presentation of his name. Lloyd was present, as were many other genuine reformers; but they were helpless to prevent the union of the party with the Democrats in the support of Bryan.

"St. Louis was a nightmare," wrote Lloyd to one of his intimate friends. "To see the blow to political reform being dealt, and to be unable to say a word to break the spell of the victims, or to do a thing to stay the hand of the depredator was dreadful. The possibility of peaceful reform, or of any reform, is greatly hindered by such an issue as this attempt to get a remedy by political action. What are we to think of the wits of a people who allow themselves to be hypnotized by gifts of a few millions by the men who at the same moment are stealing ten times as many millions, and all the people's liberties?"[1]

The People's party continued its existence for a time, but it was nothing more than a name. In the meanwhile, the Independent or Mugwump movement, as it may be more properly called, suffered the same fate in 1884 on the election of Cleveland to the presidency. In the Republican party there had been from 1872 onward a body of reformers, who wished to bring the party into harmony with the demands of the time, to secure the permanent establishment of the civil service principle, to moderate the tariff, to eliminate the control of the party by the money interests, and to secure the election of honest and just men to the presidency and to Congress. In 1876 a conference was held in New York to further these ideas; and in 1880 the nomination of Grant for a third term was in large degree prevented by the activities of the reformers. In the first year this movement gave the preference to Hayes over Blaine, and in 1880 it gave the nomination to Garfield rather than to the Maine politician. Blaine was very popular, and as the presiding officer of the House of Representatives he had gained wide recognition. He was in the largest degree a self-seeker, without principle, and unscrupulously devoted to the maintenance of his party in power. His nomination in 1884 concentrated all the reformers against them. They were known as "mugwumps," a name derived from the Algonquin word for chief. The leaders in this movement were scholars, and independent men of power and influence, many of them literary men of wide reputation or college men of great ability as students. Several of the leading journals of the country gave their advocacy to this attempt to purify politics and to prevent the election of a man who was regarded as in considerable degree a demagogue. This campaign was to a larger extent than usual one of vituperation and personal antagonisms. The independents accepted the nomination of Cleveland, and through their aid his election was secured. The result was the elimination of the independent movement, as such, from the politics of the country.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(To be continued)

[1]Henry Demarest Lloyd. A Biography by Caro Lloyd. New York, Putmans, 1912. Vol. 1, pp. 263.

WHAT WILL BE

I seemed to hear, whispered, the words: "A world at peace."
My dulled, bewildered soul straightway aroused, alert
With hope and wonderment. Oh! could such blessed thought
Become reality? And then the vision came
So clear, so luminous, my soul cried out for joy!
The future opened—I beheld the world at peace!
Throughout the length and breadth and depth of land and sea
There was no implement or instrument of war;
No poverty lurked there; content and cheerful ease
In all lands reigned; the plains and valleys, fruitful, smiled,
And children's happy faces wore the glow of health.

It was no dream. 'Twas life's true essence and demand.
'Twas that sublime ideal that must first exist
Real, invincible, ere it can be achieved.
'Twas the transcendent goal of struggling centuries;
From chaos—order, aspiration, brotherhood!
A sweet triumphal chorus, life, rising each day
In pure accord with the celestial harmonies.

O friend! Does not thy soul vision a world at peace?
And feel exalted joy at thought of what will be:
That from this evil ulcerous mass—that now implores
For skill profound and dauntless courage and the fire
Of love divine (whose fervent flame shall e'en consume
The putrid vileness while it bares the soul to save,
The hidden, dying soul of man)—there shall emerge
A world transformed, made glad, whose people shall be freed
From war's foul shame and sin? Humanity unchained
To walk, untrammeled, fearless, its God-given ways.

The Friends Intelligencer. —*Lydia G. Wentworth.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

PRESENT PROSPECTS FOR OUR CHILDREN'S COLONIES

S. S. Republic, U. S. Lines.

You will all be glad to know that I raised about $3,000 in cash on my lecture trip, and some $2,000 in pledges, for the John Reed Children's Colony and others like it in Russia. (This in addition to the regular fees I got, which paid my trip from Moscow and back and thus enabled me to do the money-raising at my own expense.) And many cities have formed committees to give further help.

Besides this, we have all kinds of contributions offered in service,—very valuable ones, but needing a little money to make them available. I am going to tell you about some of them.

First, there is Ada Flomenbaum from Berkeley, an energetic girl of the pioneering type, who speaks Russian even better than English. She is a graduate pharmacist from Columbia, has studied playground work at Berkeley, and is a professional in all varieties of tailoring, cutting and sewing. She is going over in July and is paying her own way and offering to work in the colony for the regular Russian wage of $15 a month! But we can't keep her unless we give her some facilities to work with; I myself would advise her to take a job in Moscow unless I can give her some material help. So I want $1,000 for establishing rural playgrounds along the Volga, beginning in John Reed Colony as an example. We will make a demonstration there in the nearby village, and then use the money for material, making the equipment in our own work-shops. This will give the children work and, at the same time, make us useful to the community. Mrs. Sutta, of New York, is already giving us a playground library. And if you could see those children on Saturday nights sitting stupidly around their social hall, not knowing a single game or folk-dance, and if you knew some of the problems in social life we are facing in the long winter months, you would agree that some pioneer playground work of the very simplest type is much needed. . . . And I want another $1,000 for a real Domestic Arts workshop under Ada's direction. We can get some of the experts from the Quaker handicraft centers to come up and help start this. Our girls need badly some interesting, useful work in the winter. Someone, surely, can put up $2,000 against the whole year of life that Ada is giving.

Anna Graves, the American Quaker, who has had the hard job of being the first pioneer teacher at John Reed Colony, has written me many letters ranging from discouragement over meager resources, to bright hope whenever an extra hundred dollars reaches her. She writes:

"I bought wash-basins for the girls' rooms, and have begun on the boys'. The group of boys that sleeps in the kitchen asked for a basin and takes great pride in it. The group in the cancellaria wants one, but I have just ten roubles left, and I must get pails to carry clean water to the girls' rooms, or what use are the basins? . . .

"Later . . . I am so excited about the $117 that has just arrived. (The gift of a tuberculosis sanitarium in Denver from the patients.) I shall get first wash-basins all round and then leather for shoes. There hasn't been any for the past few days and the shoe-making has stopped. Then I should like to do some things for the club rooms. There isn't a map in the place except one of Russia and an old torn one of Europe as it was before the war.

"I should like to tackle the dining-room and kitchen but I am afraid it needs more money than I have. . . . The children love the cleanness of my room; they come and look at it and say 'Cheesty' (clean) with great delight. But they have no respect for their own rooms yet and no wonder. The girls below are beginning to have, and I want to encourage them by a picture or map on the walls. . . .

"Could you bring me a sample mop? And a broom. They should be easy to make here; there is good broom-straw. But these things seem unknown in the entire district. . . .

"One of the children I am almost ashamed to teach. He looks as if he were consumptive and he has no shoes at all. He is very bright and I should like to have him taught drawing, but he is as nervous as possible. . . .

"The children do not seem hungry. But certainly there is no food adequate for those who get colds and want to be strengthened, or for the many still suffering from malnutrition. . . . Two of our children died this winter of tuberculosis.

"I think I shahll weep when I leave here in May because I think they need me or someone to take my place."

I think you will all agree that we cannot abandon John Reed Colony at this stage. It is true, we raised the $5,000 last year which has planted them firmly on the fine big estate where there is every chance in the world of making a big self-supporting farm school. We have horses enough for our immediate needs. But I wish we could find some good dairy-farmer who would come over with $2,000 or more and lay the foundations of a dairy in the splendid barns we have. John Reed Colony has gone as far as it can go under the direction of local rural teachers. We must get someone now with more knowledge, from America or Moscow. And to get this, we must give them facilities to work with.

Besides, I want to organize another Children's Farm School, nearer Moscow, where, starting from the ground up with trained people in charge, we can really work out educational standards for many other colonies, standards which will be effective for all Russia. Dr. Charles Kuntz, Russian by birth, with American experience both as educator and farmer, is going over with me intending to start such a center. We may form a colony together, but he really wants to go south, perhaps to the Ukraine, leaving me to start the central place near Moscow. In any event we shall pool our experience and exchange our experts from America.

Here is E. K. Balls, who finishes in June his job as head of the Quaker Mission in Russia. He speaks Russian and his wife is a Russian trained nurse. He will stay in Russia, offering his services for the barest kind of living, if he can be put in a place where he has a chance to achieve something useful. I want to start, with him, a demonstration colony, where we can have a chance to use some of the splendid people who offer free services. We can get estates from Russia,—there is no trouble there,—buildings, lands, even partial support for the children and teachers. But we can't get equipment without money.

Here is Vivian Wilkinson, who knows Russian, and has run schools in the Philippines and Honolulu. And a Russian farmer and mechanic from twenty-two years' experience in homesteading North Dakota. And a girl who is working her way through Antioch College, a profes-

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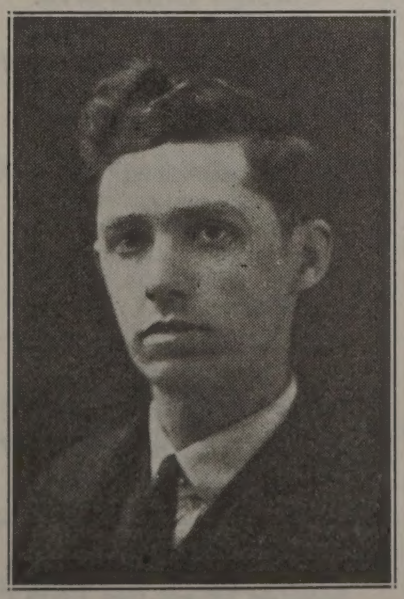

EXCEPT THE PROMISE TO PAY THE INTEREST ANNUALLY AND THE PRINCIPAL WHEN DUE?

MY PURPOSE

To take up a five-year course of study at the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry, at Berkeley, California, next August. I have met the President and have made arrangements to enter this fall. The school is open to me.

MY PREPARATION

Four years of high school and one year of college work at Brookings. I have a good record. Five years of experience as a printer in a model country newspaper office. I have had articles published in high class magazines.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

Member of National Federation of Religious Liberals, Associate member of the American Unitarian Association, District member of the First Unitarian Church of Sioux City, Iowa.

MY PLAN

This money will be used to pay railroad fare, freight on my small printing outfit, and the balance on additional printing equipment and paper stock. I can make my daily expenses from my Printery while at school in Berkeley.

CORRESPONDENCE INVITED

If you have some advice or money to lend, whether you are a church, a society, or an individual, write me.

Address all Communications to Edmond G. Hammond, Box 274, BROOKINGS, S. D.

sional tailoress now specializing in science. And a woman pioneer farmer from Canada who knows five languages, including Russian. All of these offer services, and some can raise their own transportation, but none have the equipment without which their work would be useless.

Here is Leo Lipp, from Seattle, Russian by birth, experienced as foreman in shoe-repairing shops, who will pay his own way and give his services if some one will put up the $1,500 needed for machinery for a model shoe-repairing shop. Such a shop in a children's colony near a big city like Moscow, would make money towards the support of the school with much less labor than farming. . . . And I know an expert watchmaker in Switzerland, who has saved $3,000 in tools and needs $2,000 more to start a clock-making school and factory for twenty-five pupils. If I can put up the $2,000, he will start it in my school. Russia has nothing of the kind and needs it.

That is why I am putting it up to you. I want $20,000; $5,000 to put John Reed Colony in such condition that we need not be ashamed of it, with good Russian management and one or two persons with American training. And $15,000 to start a demonstration colony near Moscow, with chiefly Americans in charge, where we can use the many offers of service that come to us.

I want some kind of answer right away, either for or against. I have $2,500 in hand now besides the $500 I have sent to John Reed Colony lately. I want also to hear quickly from the various committees to know how they are doing. And to get as much more as possible in money, and if you can't send money now, write whether you are likely to later. You can send checks directly to me, Hotel Continental, Moscow, if you prefer; but if they are small checks it will save a lot of red tape and exchange charges for you to mail them to my father, Dr. Sydney Strong, 508 Garfield St., Seattle. Send all general letters and pledges to him.

About the middle of June he will telegraph me what the prospects are, and I shall then have to decide whether simply to turn over all the money I have to John Reed Colony and give up the other dream; or whether I can tell Mr. Balls and some of the other Americans offering services to come on over, and put in about $4 worth of free expert services for every $1 you are giving in money for equipment. And remember, for every $1 you give, the Russian government will be putting up about $5 worth of buildings, land, food supplies and teachers. So every one of your dollars really counts as ten.

—*Anna Louise Strong,*
Hotel Continental, Moscow, Russia.
American address—
508 Garfield St., Seattle, Wash.

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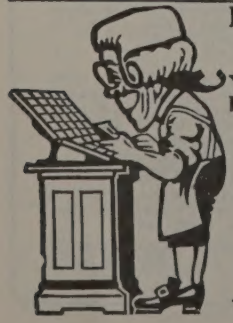
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